GULICK: SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CULTURE CHANGE

Lebanon, with a history [illegible] of the [illegible] of the country itself and because of the [illegible] preliminary remark as it must be noted that Lebanon has a number of characteristics which tend to differentiate it somewhat from its neighbors. It has been a refuge area for various religious sects, half of its population is Christian, it is one of the most intensively urbanized of the Arabic-speaking countries, it is not the headquarters of any nomadic tribes as such, and it is primarily a country of agricultural villages and urban export centers. Urban studies in Lebanon, as in any other Middle East country, will be of tremendous value and importance, but they must be based on as thorough as possible an understanding of village life. This is because so many city dwellers were village born and bred. Furthermore, urban studies in the Middle East should probably be undertaken by teams of researchers which include other social scientists in addition to anthropologists. A village study is therefore the most suitable type of research for a single anthropologist in Lebanon.

This work attempts to do two things: (1) to present as detailed a description as possible of the culture-in-change of a Lebanese village; (2) to isolate the major themes in the traditional culture and in the change process, and to present a theoretical scheme which serves to give some form and meaning to the observed phenomena.

In line with this purpose, there are two parts to the work. Part I is a descriptive analysis of the village culture as of the time of investigation. This is the way the people lived it and the way it was observed. Probably there is nothing unusual in the categories into which this material is divided for presentation. However, a note on them is in order. There can be little disagreement with Embree's suggestion (1939, p. 179) that such categories as "religion," "social life," and "economics," lead to serious difficulties in the study of other cultures, especially when the concepts behind these are are directly applicable only to the investigator's own culture. Involved in this problem is the fact, brought into clear focus by the functionalists, that the elements of culture and society are, by and large, interdependent. One cannot, therefore, get very far into the discussion of such an inclusive category as "religion," for example, without soon becoming involved in questions of "economics" and "social life," as well as "ritual."

Alfi Tannous has analyzed the Middle East village quite handily in terms of three major categories: "Land," "Religion," and "Kinship Organization" (1941). These he considers to be the major themes in village life. The present writer does not follow this conceptualization in Part I, although he does draw upon it in Part II. Tannous's categories of Land and Kinship Organization are approximately covered in two separate chapters, but phenomena all of which could be subsumed under Religion are discussed separately, for reasons which should become clear. Categorical lines must be drawn somewhere if system is to be used, as it must be. The problem is to define categories in such a way that there is no undue repetition and yet so that the interdependent, or overlapping nature of cultural elements is given recognition. The arrangement of Part I is an attempt to achieve these ends.

[illegible] to health but do definitely take a lot of chance and accident out of the [illegible] of the prevention and cure of disease.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the wide variation in beliefs concerning the deities represents a decline in the use of them which has been brought about by the widespread acceptance of modern medicine. Certainly there is evidence of decline in the statement that only recently were annual processions to each of the shrines, on the saints' days, discontinued. In this general connection, it should be mentioned that as one was observed wearing an amulet or religious medals (Lawson-Dakaris, 1910, pp. 160-64).

ORDINARY MASS

The Mass is said once a week, on Sunday mornings. The church is also open every Saturday evening for prayers. Otherwise, the building is ordinarily closed and locked. Speaking generally, Rhos (1910, p. 18) says that in Syrian Greek Orthodox Churches daily mass is very rare. He also says that although ancient Greek is the official language of the church, the native language of each particular region is the one actually used in the service (*ibid.*, p. 122). Zaidan (1909, p. 108) states this to be true of the Orthodox Church as a whole. In Mosul, according to superstition, the liturgy is in Arabic, with the exception of a few special phrases. According to Rhos, the liturgy is:

> . . . teeming with passages of profound spirituality clothed in language noble and poetic. Large parts of the services are rendered in weird Oriental chants. The service books of the Greek Church are in fourteen quarto volumes. They would appear to cover every possible occasion. There are, for example, prayers to be said by the priest when a corner stone is laid, when a building-floor is constructed, when a well is dug, when a well is polluted, when insects need be enjoined from the vines, when lambs must be vaccinated, when silk worms are being cultivated, when a sick man passes away, when one has been harmed by the evil eye. (*Ibid.*, p. 124.)

[illegible] three of these were outside the church building was observed in the village.

Zaidan says that the Orthodox Church is more like Protestantism than Roman Catholicism in the following points: (1) extensive use of the Scriptures; (2) Communion; (3) the inner and personal effect of the Sacraments (*ibid.*, pp. 109-10). He could well have added to this list the participation of laymen in the service. There is no congregational singing, but solo chants by laymen are a conspicuous element.

The priest performs all rituals only as an instrument of God, and, significantly, never uses the first person singular. For example, he says "Ye-mshaw is baptized" not "I baptize ye-mshaw" (Zaidan, 1909, pp. 87-88.)

Zaidan says that there is in general a feeling in the Church that other Christian sects have not fallen from Grace. "The broad-minded attitude and practice," he concludes, "explains [its] mild attitude toward other churches and their mem-

...leaf" (1925, pp. 30-42). As far as doctrine alone is concerned, this generalization appears to be true of the Arab Orthodox, but among them, assimilation, and affiliation as a form of in-group loyalty is strong.

Bliss describes the Mass and Sacraments of the Syrian Greek Orthodox Church at some length (1913, pp. 130-47), and it is not necessary to repeat the material here in a body. The practice in Mosul appears to conform to the generalizations [illegible]. In the intervening period he prepares the elements behind the iconostasis. Each Sunday one housewife presents five loaves of holy bread (qurbana) which are used in the service. Apparently all the women in the village take their turn at this. The loaf is about the same size as a regular loaf but is about an inch thick. In the middle of each loaf a device is impressed with a wooden stamp (mahr). The device bears four pairs of Greek letters arranged crosswise which are an abbreviation of "Jesus Christ conquers."

The following is a brief description of one Sunday mass which was attended only in the summer. It is representative of several which were attended.

At eight fifteen only the priest and an elderly man were in the church, chanting responsively. At that point, a middle-aged man entered, took his post at one of the lectorns and began chanting. About five minutes later, a young man came in, went to the other lectorn and joined in. Next, three small boys entered and sat down in the wooden stalls. Then another young man arrived and went behind the iconostasis to assist the priest. After that, several more young and middle-aged men came in in short order. In all, about fifteen men were present, together with about an equal number of children of both sexes and about half a dozen young women, one of whom had prepared the qurbana for that day.

The chanting was maintained continuously, with certain individuals who are regular attendants taking noticeable part. Toward the end of the service, the priest took the Host into the congregation, carrying the chalice and plate, which held small pieces of qurbana, on a silver tray. His assistant walked backwards in front of him, holding up a cross. Each member of the congregation bowed as the Host approached him. After this, the assistant took up a collection and distributed qurbana to each person present as well as to several who had been sitting outside all the time.

After the service, the young men, as usual, took turns ringing the bell, bracing off the ground and pulling the cord with all their weight. Others stood around chatting.

The stores are open every Sunday.

FEASTS AND FASTS

Every day of the year is a saint's day, but special observances are made only on a few. Besides Easter and the various special holy days in Lent, the Syrian Greek

[illegible] adequate for its needs and problems. Relationship with the central government was remote and did not go much beyond the payment of taxes and tithes. Loyalty to the kinship group struck a harmonious balance with loyalty to the village community. [illegible] Its authority was recognized and respected. The priest was always a member of the community and was elected by the people. Economic life was a mixture of private ownership of land requiring individual effort on the one hand and co-operation in various agricultural activities on the other. Education was simple, adapted to the needs of the community, and the teacher was a farmer, a member of the group. It was a type of education that emanated from and catered to the needs of community life.

After 1880, new factors, which were to a large extent beyond the organization and control of the people, began to operate within the community, leading to a marked disruption in its harmonious organization. The most important among these factors or forces were the Protestant missions of the U. S., the silk factory, the educational movement, emigration and the new political-national spirit of the Arab World. The present article will deal with one of these—the emigration movement.

Why Did They Emigrate?

Disturbances of the land population balance. Since the village began to

[illegible]

p 43 (a)

In 1971 population of 1,200 people and general social organization, Bekaa-town is typical of the Lebanon village communities. It is situated in the foothills of the Lebanon mountains, fifty miles to the north of Beirut and twelve miles to the south of Tripoli, the two seaports of the country. The writer was born and grew up in this village. He is the product of the native Arab culture, [illegible] and exposed to the prevailing American culture. The present article is based upon personal experience the writer, with an Arab-American background, and then of the people, who have lived in the same village for eight generations.

With respect to the religious situation in the village previous to the appearance of mission activity, it is sufficient to emphasize a few salient facts. In the first place, there were in the village three religious sects: a large majority of Greek Orthodox (about 1000 people), a small minority of Moslems (about 100 people), and three Maronite households, which will be neglected in the discussion. Secondly, the relationship between the two religious sects had always been such as could be characterized as harmonious and stable. Each sect took it for granted that there had always been and there will always be two sects in the village--Moslems and Greek Orthodox. Consequently, there had never been any attempt on the part of one sect to interfere with the religious practices of the other or to undertake any proselyting campaign. Thirdly, religion in the village had always been an integral part of the whole village life. It was not a matter of dogma, of

[illegible] method of worship, was upset and influenced [illegible] the practices of daily living. It was rather a way of life. The church grew up with the village, influencing it and in the same time being influenced by the other aspects of village life. There, to our doubt upon the church cannot overlay doubt upon village life altogether.

II

Early in the second half of the 19th century, three religious missions appeared on the quiet horizon of the Lebanon were—the Protestant (mainly American), the Catholic (mainly French), and the Greek Orthodox (Russian). There were other missions too—Italian, German, English, and Scandinavian. However, the influence of these did not reach Mikhaleiyeen and they need not be discussed here.

The American Presbyterian mission has always been the most influential Protestant mission in the country. They began their work early in the second half of the 19th century. Beirut was their first base, whence they reached out to the surrounding Lebanese villages. Later, they established a second base in the town of Tripoli, from which they began to work in the neighbouring villages of the Koura district, including Mikhaleiyeen. About 1900, they succeeded in establishing a simple elementary school at Mikhaleiyeen. A native Protestant teacher (one) was put in charge. A simple square room was found, whose owner was willing to rent it for the purpose. Children were free and parents were encouraged to send their children to the new school.

In course time, at first, the people of the village

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hazardous. The principal source of this cash income used to be the silkworm cocoon, supplemented by wage labor. Third, in regard to kinship groups, there appears always to have been a tendency to minimize (in comparison to other villages) the distinctiveness of the various lineages. Since, however, all village members recognized the same common ancestor, and were therefore all related, this tendency does not necessarily indicate that the principle of kinship grouping, in itself, was unimportant in the village.

Finally, extreme localism was to some degree modified in al-Mansūf. Some of the seasonal wage laborers brought back brides from the communities in which they worked — a violation of the principle of village endogamy. However, these cases were rare, and in every one the outsider was at least a coreligionary of her husband. Al-Mansūf also had, and still has, a sort of second line of defense, or buffer, between it and the outside world. This is the group of villages, seven of them including al-Mansūf, which has been alluded to earlier. This cluster of villages has a name which is used by its inhabitants, symbolizing its unity. Visiting has always been common among the villages, and ties of friendship are many. Furthermore, there has always been a certain amount of intermarriage among the villages. Each case of this was, technically speaking, a violation of village endogamy, but it was a very different matter, in the villagers' eyes, from marrying "a stranger." The unity of the seven villages can be ascribed largely to the fact that the same sect affiliation — Greek Orthodox — is predominant in all of them while the surrounding region is predominantly Maronite. But all these modifications do not detract very much from the picture of the al-Mansūf of former times as being a typical "folk" community: predominantly agricultural, inward-oriented, consensual and self-contained in its system of values.

III

The changes which have occurred in al-Mansūf began about 1880. By 1910 all the trends were apparently set which have since gathered momentum and wrought considerable modifications in the traditional patterns of life in the village.

In the latter part of the 19th century, there were factors come to bear on the culture of Lebanon which had profound effects. These can be analyzed specifically in the case of al-Mansūf, but were certainly felt in many other Lebanese villages.

1. Factory-made articles from Europe began to be imported, with two consequences: first, the lessening in importance (and eventual extinction) of village handicrafts; and second, a newly developed demand for European articles, such as furniture, obtainable only on payment of cash. Thus, an already tight economic balance in the village threatened to become an extremely serious squeeze. Doubtless the situation would have become really

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chief towns of Syria and their populations are: Aleppo, 335,000 Damascus, the capital, 305,000; Hama, 154,000; Latakia, 90,000; Deir ez-Zor, 65,000: of the Lebanon—Beirut, the capital, 245,000; Tripoli, 86,000; Sidon (Saida), 38,800; Zahle, 38,031. The population of each country is increasing by about 2 per cent a year. Between half a million and a million Syrians and Lebanese live abroad, mainly in the Americas and Africa; emigration continues; during 1952 about 100 Lebanese emigrated monthly, most of them to South America.

Religions

RELIGIOUS SECTS AND PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION

	Syria		Lebanon	
	Population in 1947	Seats in 1947	Population in 1937	Seats in 1953
Sunni				
Shia (incl. Alawis)				
Druze				
Maronite				
Orthodox (Greek				
Orthodox Armenian				
Orthodox Syrian (Jacobite)				
Catholic (Latin rite)				
Catholic (Greek rite)				
Catholic (Syrian rite)				
Catholic (Armenian rite)				
Catholic (Chaldean rite)				
Protestants				
Jews				
Others				
Minorities				
Totals				

The language of the great majority of Syrians and Lebanese is Arabic, and they think of themselves as Arabs. There are minorities of race, religion, and language:* the Kurds number between 100,000 and 200,000 and are mainly in northern Syria; most of them speak Kurdish but are progressively becoming less and less distinct from the Arabs. The Armenians, who live mainly in the three principal cities, now number about 150,000, although some 20,000 emigrated to Soviet Armenia in the 1946's. Most of them came as refugees from the Turks after the First World War. Other racial minorities are the Turkomans, Circassians, and Assyrians. Most of the religious sects

* The further details are in A. H. Hourani, Minorities in the Arab World (London, Oxford University Press for RIIA, 1947).

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shown in the table above are found in other parts of the Middle East but three indigenous sects need mention here: the Druses, who are a mountain people professing a religion which derived from Islam in the eleventh century A.D., but became independent; the Alawis of the mountains behind Latakia, whose religion appears to be a dogmatic form of Shiî Islam with some survivals of Christian ritual; and the Maronites, who are a Christian sect, living mainly in the north of Lebanon.

The religion of the majority of Syrians and of the head of the Syrian state is Sunni Islam; in the Lebanon, Muslims and Christians are fairly evenly divided and the President of the Republic is a Maronite Christian and the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim. The Christians of the Arab Levant have provided the Middle East with great leaders in journalism, letters, politics, and science, but in present-day Syria the Christians are mainly prominent in commerce and industry. There is hardly any dangerous animosity between the sects, but sectarian bonds are a very real force in the lives of people who for so long lived under the Turkish *millet* system whereby each sect was an administrative unit, the head of which exercised considerable authority.

So mixed a population living in a variety of environments naturally does not constitute one physical type, but some generalizations are hazarded for the sake of a fuller picture. Dark hair is almost universal but the skin of the town dweller is no darker than that of a Mediterranean European; the Syrians and Lebanese are not often as tall or as heavy as the average Englishman but they mature at an earlier age. The poorer nomad eats mainly bread, with milk and fruit and vegetables as less frequent additions and meat as an event, but in the towns and villages most people eat a full diet with rather more oil and spice than is used in Britain. The cultivator and the nomad wear local costumes but most townspeople wear European clothes; the tarbush or the head-cloth are usual but not universal headgear for men. Most Muslim women wear the veil, but in the towns the richer women are becoming more and more emancipated and, particularly in Beirut, many lead the same lives as Christian women. In Lebanon and in Damascus and Aleppo the way of life is very like that in southern Europe, and both countries make a pleasant home for a European.

History

Semitic-speaking people have inhabited for four or five millennia the area which is known historically as Syria, although for much of this period the rulers of what is now

Lebanon, U.S.I.

Chapter 24

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Two unique features of education in Lebanon distinguish it from education in the rest of the Arab world. Lebanon has the highest rate of literacy among the Arab states. It is estimated that between 70 and 75 percent of the children of primary-school age are attending school—a considerably higher rate than in the neighboring countries. This rate would have been higher had it not been for the addition to Lebanon after World War I of some regions which were much less advanced educationally than the original Mount Lebanon. Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to or approximates universal literacy.

The second remarkable fact is that this comparatively advanced stage has been accomplished largely through the efforts of private and foreign schools rather than through publicly supported schools. Indeed, before World War I, autonomous Lebanon had only one public school, the Deuliyah at 'Abey, which was supported by the Lebanese government for the education of the children of that predominantly Druze region.* The private and foreign schools were largely sectarian. This gave education in Lebanon a predominantly sectarian character, emphasizing sectarian differences, the remnants and effects of which are felt to this day.

Even in 1945–46 the number of pupils enrolled in the public schools was smaller than the number of those enrolled in either private schools or foreign schools. Higher education is conducted entirely in foreign institutions. Secondary education is shared between private and foreign schools, the Lebanese Ministry of National Education having no complete secondary schools. Primary education is conducted in all three types of schools—public, private, and foreign—with the public schools in the third place in enrollments. In addition to primary schools, the Ministry of Na-

*Government schools existed in those parts of the present Lebanese Republic which were parts of the neighboring Ottoman provinces. Among those were the cities of Beirut (now the capital of Lebanon), Tripoli, Sidon, and Tyre, as well as such districts as 'Akkar, Bsaqa', and Marja'yun.

certificate of good behavior, and the places of his residence during the last five years, as well as a plan of the building to be used, a certificate from the county doctor as to its sanitary arrangements, and another certificate from an architect (or master-mason in outlying villages) as to the soundness of the building. The principal must give an affidavit stating that the school will follow the official course of study. Before granting the permit, the Ministry considers whether there is a need for the school. Any changes in the plan of organization of the school require repetition of all the processes indicated above. A school which does not open within two years of the date of issue of its permit has its permit withdrawn. Any school whose proprietor has no permit is closed.

Coeducation is permitted up to the age of eleven. Although the private and foreign schools are required to follow the official courses of study, the principals have a choice of methods of teaching. Only textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education may be used in the teaching of history, geography, and moral, civic, and patriotic subjects, and any private school that uses a textbook banned by the Ministry is subject to the penalty of being closed.

Private schools, whether native or foreign, are subject to supervision by the Ministry of National Education. At the end of November of each year private-school principals must submit a register of the school staff and their qualifications, a detailed report on the condition of the school, and the number of pupils and the denominations to which they belong. Schools already having permits at the time of the issuance of the decree of October 1946 were required to register them before April 1947, after which date an unregistered school was subject to being closed.

The Educational Ladder

Schools in Lebanon, as already intimated, belong mainly to one of two types of educational organization: a French or an American type. The French type prevails in the government schools, in the large majority of foreign schools, and in some of the private schools—all culminating in the French Jesuit university known as the Université Saint-Joseph. The American type is found in the next largest group of foreign schools, the schools of the Protestant Synod, and in some of the private schools. These culminate in the American University of Beirut, the oldest existing institution of higher education in Lebanon (founded in 1866). A third type of organization comprising a small number of schools may be called the "British" type and is exemplified by the British-Syrian Training Col-

[illegible] for girls and the elementary schools for boys and girls attached to it.*

¶ 710 Which one of the types a particular pupil is likely to choose depends to a large extent upon his community background—more specifically his religious community background. A Catholic parent is likely to place his child in a Catholic foreign or native private school, which means that he receives the French brand of education. Greek or other Orthodox children, when they do not go to their own schools, are as likely to pick a French type as American or British types of school. When picking a French type, they usually prefer a lay-mission (Mission Laique) school where they are not subjected to the intense religious teaching of the Catholic mission schools. Most Protestant children go to Protestant schools which, with one notable exception (Le Collège Protestant Français) are of the American or British types. A Muslim parent usually would prefer to send his child to a Muslim school, which may be following plans of any of the types. The poorer Muslims often send their children to the government schools, which follow the French type of organization, or to the French lay-mission schools, or to the American or British types of school. The deciding factor is the absence or minimum of proselytization. Druzes, when they do not send their children to their own schools, usually send them to government schools, but they may choose American or British schools; the latter have had long-standing relations with the Druze community. Druzes also send their children to French schools and to some of the Muslim and Christian denominational schools. Thus, the choices of schools are to a large extent determined by sectarian considerations. This situation is a perpetuation of the status prevailing in the days of the Ottoman Empire, which was accentuated even further in the days of the French mandate. It is not likely to change appreciably until the government assumes greater responsibility for public education than it has hitherto.

¶ 711 Chart XIV attempts to depict the various educational systems in vogue in Lebanon. In general, two systems—the American and the French—go their own ways, using their own curriculums, their own methods, and, indeed, are guided by two distinct philosophies.* About the only link between the two types is the establishment by the American University of Beirut of a *Section Secondaire*, in which an adaptation of the French secondary program is followed and where the teaching is in French. Those who finish this program present themselves for the French or Lebanese

* There are, in addition, 1 Danish, 1 Swiss, and 1 Greek school. The American Council Commission was unable to visit any of these schools and, therefore, is not in a position to describe the type of organization they follow.

* For a description of French schools, see chap. xxvi; for American and British schools, chap. xxvii.

students. There were more foreign secondary schools than public and private secondary schools combined, with three-fifths of the total secondary-school enrollment.

The distribution of foreign schools according to nationality, and the number of boys and girls enrolled in them in 1941-42 (the latest figures available), are shown in Table 74.

TABLE 74

[illegible]

[illegible]	No. of Schools	[illegible]		
		Boys	Girls	Total
French	271	17,780	15,726	33,506
American	36	1,443	1,381	2,824
British	14	487	398	885
Danish	1	24	114	138
Greek	1	178	—	178
Swiss	1	30	49	79
Total	324	22,361	24,410	46,726

The largest group of foreign schools was the French, constituting 83 percent of all foreign schools and enrolling 84 percent of the total foreign-school enrollment. Far behind them trail the American schools, which constitute 11 percent of all foreign schools and educate about the same proportion of pupils. They are followed by the British schools, which constitute 4 percent of the total of foreign schools with the same percentage of the total enrollment. Denmark, Greece, and Switzerland are each represented by one school.

Finally, owing to the great stress laid in Lebanon on the sectarian distribution of school children and of the population in general, it seemed worth while to study the sectarian composition of the school population of

TABLE 75

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]					[illegible]
			Public Schools	Private Schools	Foreign Schools	Total	Per cent	
Christian	387,483	33.0	6,753	53,276	30,689	90,718	69.9	23.4
Muslim	434,709	39.3	11,398	16,987	2,888	34,256	26.7	7.8
Druze	72,862	6.6	1,802	3,796	1,117	6,914	5.3	6.7
Jews	5,567	0.5	10	262	1,775	2,047	1.5	36.8
Miscellaneous	6,112	0.6	10	276	107	486	0.4	8.0
Total	1,106,669	100.0	21,094	73,609	43,696	130,310	100.0	11.5

Lebanon and compare it with the composition of the general population of the country. The matter is not without both educational and sociological interest. This is shown in Table 75.

Although the Christians of Lebanon constitute slightly more than one-half of the population, they have 70 percent of the total school enrollment of the country. The ratio of children in school to the Christian population is 17.8—which seems to show that the Christians are closely approaching universal literacy. It tends to confirm the statement made earlier, based on personal observation, that many a Christian village in Lebanon has achieved almost complete literacy. The Muslims, who make up 39.3 percent of the population, have 24.7 percent of the school enrollment. Their children constitute 7.0 percent of the total Muslim population. They seem to be half-way on the road to complete literacy. They are closely followed by the Druzes who have 6.7 percent of their population in the schools. As a community the Druzes make up 6.6 percent of the total population and have 3.3 percent of the total enrollment. The abnormal proportion of Jewish children in school compared with their population (36.8 percent) may be attributed either to the possibility that the figure given for the Jewish population is an underestimate or that Jewish students are coming from neighboring countries to study in Lebanon in such numbers as completely to upset the ratio. The Jews seem to have no problem of illiteracy.

Taking the total school enrollment and the total population of Lebanon, it is found that the former constitutes 12.3 percent of the latter—the highest percentage among the Arab countries.

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Chapter 28

PRIVATE LEBANESE SCHOOLS

Modern education in Lebanon goes back to the end of the eighteenth century when a Maronite patriarch, formerly a student in one of the oriental seminaries of Rome, opened a school at the monastery of 'Ayn Warqah in 1789. This school therefore precedes by thirty-five years the elementary American school opened in 1824, and precedes 'Ainturah College by forty-five years. Inspired in its plan by the seminaries in Rome, it gave instruction in Syriac, Arabic, Italian, Latin, philosophy, theology, and civil law, combining in its student body lay students as well as those destined for clerical life. It has often been called the mother of the national schools of Lebanon, and produced a number of learned Lebanese men of the nineteenth century. Among its distinguished alumni may be cited the linguist-lexicographer-journalist-encyclopedist, Butrus Bustani, already mentioned as one of the translators of the Bible into Arabic, Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq, another linguist and journalist, and Monseigneur Yusuf al-Dibs, later Maronite Archbishop of Beirut and author of an eight-volume history of Syria, and founder of the well-known al-Hikmah College, which will be described later.[1] This school remained open well into the nineteenth century. Other schools were founded later by Maronites, Greek Catholics, Syrian Catholics, and Greek Orthodox (of the latter, the Syrian School at Dayr al-Shuwfah and the Greek Orthodox School of Three Doctors are the best known), but they did not seem to have had the same influence as the school at 'Ayn Warqah. Bustani founded the National School in Beirut, which prepared students for the American University of Beirut during its early years.

The Greek Catholics founded a school in Beirut known as the Patriarchal School, which is still in existence as one of the prominent schools of Lebanon. Later the Muslim Charitable Purposes Association founded a school in Beirut, in 1876. Down to the present day, private schools have been founded by sects, associations, and individuals in such numbers that it is impossible to enumerate them.

[1] See pp. 506-8.

In 1944–45 private Lebanese schools were the largest single group of schools in the country, numbering 963 schools and enrolling 71,524 pupils, or 60.3 percent of the schools and 49.4 percent of the enrollments. The period following the First World War was a period of great development in private schools. These grew up in the larger cities as well as in the smaller villages and may be divided from the standpoint of control into three categories: (1) sectarian schools; these are the largest group and are maintained by the various denominations in order to keep the education of their children under their wing; (2) schools controlled by committees and associations for national or purely educational purposes; (3) schools controlled by individuals—many of these are simply commercial ventures of private individuals for private gain.

TABLE 90

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS IN SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC EXPENDITURES BY DENOMINATION, LEBANON, 1943–45*

Denomination	Schools	Enrollment					
		Catholic	Muslim	Druze	Jews	Miscellaneous	Total
Muslim	122	92	13,408	162	—	97	13,759
Druze	26	41	45	1,453	3	3	1,545
Jewish	1	—	—	—	236	—	236
Christian							
Maronite	406	21,400	533	175	2	15	21,315
Greek Catholic	148	7,591	698	331	—	6	8,595
Syrian Catholic	6	985	40	29	—	—	1,054
Armenian Catholic	4	1,386	—	—	—	—	1,386
Chaldean	1	140	1	1	—	—	142
Greek Orthodox	186	10,479	321	133	2	—	10,864
Syrian Orthodox	3	328	2	—	—	—	330
Armenian Orthodox	15	7,082	—	—	—	—	7,082
Armenian Protestant	13	1,131	—	—	—	—	1,131
Protestant	2	197	34	3	—	—	234
Miscellaneous private schools	34	2,894	211	413	17	156	3,691
Total	963	53,274	14,997	2,799	260	276	71,606

* Conseil Général des Syndics Communs, *Recueil de Statistiques de la Caisse des Ecoles, 1943–45* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1945), p. 31.

From the standpoint of government statistics almost all the private schools are classified under the denominational affiliation of their controlling authorities as is shown in Table 90, which gives the distribution of private schools and pupils according to denomination in the year 1943–45.

The largest single group of schools and of pupils is the Maronite with 406 schools and 21,315 pupils. Next comes the Greek Orthodox with 186 schools and 10,864 pupils. The Greek Catholics come third with 148 schools and 8,595 pupils. The Muslims, though fourth in the number of schools, are second in the number of pupils; they had 122 schools with

13,759 students. Armenian schools, both Orthodox and Protestant, come next with 50 schools and 8,215 pupils. They are followed by the Druzes, with 26 schools and 1,540 pupils.

A careful study of Table 90 shows that each denomination is catering almost exclusively to children of its own religion, though not necessarily of its own sect. Only 713 pupils out of the more than 21,000 in Maronite schools are non-Christian. Similarly, 385 pupils out of 10,879 in Greek Orthodox schools are non-Christian. Only 30 Christians, 102 Druzes, and 97 pupils from various sects attend Muslim schools out of a total of 13,759. Thus, the sectarian differences already existing among the people of Lebanon are paralleled in the composition of the student bodies of the various private schools. It can perhaps be safely said that the schools help to perpetuate these cleavages, if not to make them more pronounced.

As a group the private schools represent no special philosophy of education or any attempt to experiment with new curriculums or methods. It is the rare school indeed which is trying to strike out in a new direction. Rather, the private schools follow the lead either of the French, American, or British types of education. Naturally, since the government conducts primary and secondary examinations, some schools also follow the program of studies set down by the government.

These statements must be qualified by two considerations. The first is the attempt of each sect to draw to its own schools the children of its own community, and annoyance lest these children may go to schools of a different sect. This is particularly true of the Greek Orthodox and Catholic sects. The same is true of some of the private Muslim schools which were established to prevent Muslim children entering Christian missionary schools where another religion might be taught to them, sometimes compulsorily, and where they would have no chance of studying their own religion. Some of the sectarian schools provide children for religious services in their churches, and the children are, therefore, taught the liturgy and hymns of their own church. In a large portion of the Catholic schools, the clergy is in full control, with nuns or priests as principals, directors of discipline and studies, and as teachers. The same is not true of the Greek Orthodox schools, though there is a close affiliation with the church.

The second consideration is the new outlook advocated by some of the Lebanese that their culture should follow the lines of the so-called "Mediterranean culture." The protagonists of this theory maintain that Lebanon has always been a bridge between the East and the West and has always been influenced by Eastern and Western cultures alike. Whether in Phoenician, Greco-Roman, or Crusading times, Lebanon was always in direct

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relationship with other parts of the Mediterranean world and was influenced by the cultures emanating from that world. As the name [illegible] it was attached to the Eastern and was populated by men of Semitic origin, it could not help being influenced by Eastern cultures as well. In this way "Mediterranean culture" seems to mean the present Arab culture of the East and its background of other Semitic cultures, as well as the present modern Western, particularly French-Catholic, culture and its background of Greco-Roman culture. It is further maintained by this group, made up largely of French Catholic sympathizers who have not taken easily to the participation of Lebanon in the Arab League, that Lebanon should not be swayed too far to the East, to the point of losing its identity in the Arab-Muslim majority and in the Arab-Muslim ideology. Rather, she too must be taken to keep in close touch with the West, the Christian Catholic West in particular, in order to have a balanced culture inside Lebanon.

Their antagonists, on the other hand, made up largely of sympathizers with the Arab cause who like to see the Arabic culture of Lebanon maintained, accuse them of not paying enough attention to Arabic and Eastern cultures, and assert that what is called "Mediterranean culture" is nothing more than a thin veil for the attempt to preserve French Catholic influence and education in Lebanon.

This controversy has come to the fore more specifically in the last several years with the end of the French mandate, the rise of the Arab League, and the declaration of Lebanon's independence. From the standpoint of the schools themselves, however, it has as yet made little difference either in the types of curriculum or methods followed. It is not necessary, therefore, to describe them further as a group. The descriptions which follow are of individual schools visited by the Commission.

[Denominational Schools]

Moravian Schools

The outstanding Moravian school in Lebanon is the al-Hikmah College, a boys school founded in Beirut in 1870, by the Moravian Archbishop of Beirut, Monseigneur Yusuf al-Dibs, a learned man of his times. It is situated in the eastern part of the city in its own old building to which has been added a large new building constructed in 1936. It has a primary school, a secondary school, and a commercial course. It had an enrollment in 1940-41 of 1,101 students, of whom 100 were boarders. About 600 were in the secondary section. Students are drawn mainly from Lebanon, but about 100 boys came from Syria, a few from Palestine, while others

PRIVATE (DIOCESE) SCHOOLS

were children of Lebanese emigrants to Africa. The school was staffed with a director, a prefect of discipline, two directors of studies of Arabic and French (all of them priests), and 15 men instructors, 12 women instructors, and seven more to substitute them were 12 supervisors, all priests. The school is under the authority of the Maronite Archbishop of Beirut who appoints the principal and receives from him a written report on the school annually. It is self-supporting, the fees being sufficient normally to pay all expenses. Any additional expenses are paid, when need arises, out of endowments of the Diocese of Beirut. The buildings belong to the diocese.

The College is well known for the equal care given to the teaching of Arabic and French. It has produced a large number of the leading men of Lebanon, among whom are writers, poets, journalists, and clergymen. Originally both a seminary and a college, it is now only a college for lay instructors, the seminary having been moved elsewhere. The instructors of the College have been among the leaders in the movement for the revival of what has been called "Mediterranean culture" and have taken the lead in founding the Cultural League of Free Education. This is an association of private Lebanese secondary and elementary-school principals and inspectors which has the following aims:

1. Intimate cooperation and participation with the government in propagating the spirit of independence and patriotism in the hearts of youth, and the realization of education required by the Lebanese spirit.
2. The maintenance of the opposition between school and political extremism and respect for the national Lebanese ideal and its cultural opportunity.
3. Maintenance of the freedom of educational method in private schools within the public programs.

Table 11 shows the program of studies of the school beginning with the fourth primary year (Bachibac) as an illustration of the attempt to give more or less equal emphasis to Arabic and French.

It should be added that though the hours given to French are somewhat less than those given to Arabic, a number of subjects are taught in French. The Commissioner on his visit to the school was impressed by the fact that the general atmosphere seemed to be decidedly French. The school authorities spoke French among themselves and kept notes of the records in French. English is begun in the fifth primary grade (optional).

The school has a literary society, physical-education society, a boys' troop, and a choir of 150 voices which sings church and Lebanese music. Dramatic societies are also active, giving both Arabic and French plays.

[illegible]

[illegible]

The College seems to be attempting to foster the introduction of harmony into Arabic and Jewish music.

An illustration of the efforts by the Moravian clergy to provide education for girls on the islands of the Dutch West Indies, known as the Dutch Caribbean, existed after the village where the earliest convert is situated. These Moravian were concerned about the schools for girls, to which the government pays a small contribution. Some of these schools are in Syria, but the majority are in Lebanon. These girls attend a Senior

TABLE 10

Provision of Christian and Islamic Religious Instruction

Institution	Number of Pupils in Each Class							
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Some of the boarding students were from immigrant families from Africa and Greece.

[illegible]

Five Greek Orthodox schools, one for boys and one for girls were owned by the Commission.

The School of Three Hierarchs, founded in 1933, was one also one of the prominent schools of Beirut, but has had an uneven history. It is situated in the eastern part of the city, where it has its own building belonging to the Greek Orthodox community. It is controlled by a committee of the representatives elected of the Greek Orthodox Church which is responsible to the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Beirut. At the time of the visit of the Commissioners in 1945-46 the School consisted of an elementary and a secondary section. The school was in the process of being closed down, [illegible] to attendance, of which 110 were in the secondary section. The School had up to that year not possessed students for the annual baccalaureate examinations, but had started a class in philosophy with 4 students during the year. It was headed by a lay principal, staffed by twenty-three men and two women teachers, of whom seven were part time. Two of the teachers had the French university degrees of Licence ès Lettres, two had B.A. degrees from the American University of Beirut, one was an engineer, four were students of higher institutions, and the rest had normal matriculation. The programs of studies does not differ radically from the other schools with the exception that English is begun with the third grade of the primary school (secondary).

The Greek Orthodox School for Girls in Tripoli was founded in 1911 by the present Greek Orthodox Patriarch who was then Archbishop of Tripoli. It was last taken over by the Mixte commission. The grounds and the buildings had been supplied by the diocese. The School building was requisitioned by the British for Force Commando (1941-45), and consequently the School suffered, and has been building itself up again since its return to its old premises. It consists of a kindergarten, a primary school, and the five form years of secondary school leading to the Brevet certificate. In 1945-46 it had 140 pupils, of whom 10 were boarders. One hundred fifty of the pupils were received half as partial exemption from fees. The teaching body, largely Greek Orthodox, had seven members. Studies are given. The staff included sixteen teachers, of whom four were men. The principal of the school has for some time been the head of the Girls' Greek Orthodox Schools.

Greek Catholic schools

The American Council Commission regrets that it was not able to visit the well-known Patriarchal College of the Greek Catholic denomination, founded in 1843, owing to a misunderstanding growing out of inaccurate reports of the purpose of the survey conducted by the Commission.

Moslem schools

Three well-known Moslem schools were visited by the American Council Commission: in Beirut, Sidon, and Tripoli. The best known of these is the College of the Moslem Charitable Purposes (*al-Maqasid al-Khayriyah*) in Beirut. This is conducted by an association made up of Moslem laymen headed by a prominent, wealthy resident of Beirut. The association not only maintains schools, but has other charitable activities. Its schools are under two educational committees, one for the schools in Beirut, and the other for village schools. It draws its income of about £L210,000 ($105,000) a year from endowments made up largely of property and from fees, which range from £L110 to £L600 ($50 to $150.50) a year. The association maintains a secondary school for boys and another for girls in Beirut together with four elementary schools for boys and two elementary schools for girls in the city. A number of schools in the villages around Beirut and in Bekaa' are also maintained.

The College of Moslem Charitable Purposes, in Beirut, for boys, was founded in the last quarter of the nineteenth century under Ottoman government auspices, but had an uneven history until after World War I when the Moslem community, largely under the leadership of a public-spirited *ulema*, put the College on a sound foundation and developed it from a primary school into a full secondary school. It includes a kindergarten which accepts children of nursery age, two primary schools, and a full secondary school preparing students for the second *baccalauréat*. The College is situated in the southern part of Beirut adjoining the great pine grove. In 1945–46 it had 996 students almost all of whom were from Beirut. The secondary school and what is known as the old primary school constitute a unit which enrolls 728 pupils and is staffed by the head principal and forty-two men teachers. Another unit known as the new elementary primary school and kindergarten enrolls 268 pupils and is staffed by a principal and eleven women teachers. The nursery and kindergarten follow some of the most progressive methods witnessed in any of the countries visited by the Commission. The authorities of the school are planning to add primary grades to the kindergarten which would follow more pro-

greater loss than the old school. At the time of the visit of the Commission only the first grade of the new primary school had been started, and the Commission was told that other grades would follow gradually in subsequent years.

The College follows the government program by giving first place to Arabic and French, both of which are started in the kindergarten. English is begun in the first secondary year. Like many other schools, however, the College authorities are thinking of giving the students a choice between French and English beginning with the kindergarten. Teaching was being conducted in Arabic in the primary school and in the first secondary year. It was hoped to turn all of the teaching into Arabic gradually, teaching the French language simply as a language. A commercial course of two years after the third secondary year is planned. The College presents students for all four Lebanese examinations, and its secondary-school certificate is recognized by the Egyptian government and by the American University of Beirut for entry into the freshman year. It is hoped that when the teaching of English is improved, graduates, or at least some of them, will be able to go into the sophomore year. The College receives help from the Egyptian government in the form of four teachers, three of whom were delegated by the Egyptian Ministry of Education and one by al-Azhar. This delegation of Egyptian teachers was first begun in the year 1936–37. In 1945–46, 22 graduates of the College were studying in Egyptian universities, where they were receiving free tuition and board.

The College of Muslim Charitable Purposes in Sidon represents another institution of the same kind as that of Beirut, though it belongs to an independent organization. The College is made up of a kindergarten department of three years and a secondary school of eleven years, including the classes of philosophy and mathematics. The College is 1 of 4 schools in Sidon supported by this same organization. One is a boys primary school, enrolling about 450 children; 2 are schools for girls, both of which are primary, with about 600 girls in one and 350 girls and small boys in the other. It is planned to expand the first girls school into a full secondary school, leading to the second baccalaureate.

The boys College visited by the Commission had in 1945–46, 500 students of whom 350 were boarders. Girls are admitted to the kindergarten. The students come not only from Sidon and the rural districts surrounding it, but also from Beqa', northern Lebanon, Beirut, and parts of Syria. About 35 boarders were children of Lebanese parents living in Africa.

The College is the only full public or private secondary school in southern Lebanon, and is, therefore, sought not only by Muslim children but by

[illegible]

[illegible] 63

[illegible] of teaching is of importance. The aim, therefore, should be [illegible] to train all teaching [illegible] while at the same time fostering the teaching [illegible] of foreign languages.

A third Muslim institution is the Teachers' College of Education and Economics in Tripoli. This includes a kindergarten of three years, a primary school of five years (ending the sixth grade standard), a secondary school of five years, a religious school of two years above the primary school, a commercial section, and an English section is being planned. In 1950-51 the College had 214 students, of whom 111 were accepted grants. Students were from Tripoli and vicinity, while boarding students were from Homs, Khoms, Lebda, and Misrata. Fees range from £3.0.0 to £3.0.0 ($9 to $10.50) a month a added £2.0.0 or £2.10.0 ($7.00 to $8.40) for boarding students. Exemption from fees is based on economic need. The boarding section includes 140 orphans and the religious students who are on free and 5 paying students. A student accepted grants in the primary school is given the option of entering the religious section or the secondary section. If he chooses to go into the secondary section, he receives unlimited exemption only the full exemption is accorded him if he chooses the religious section.

The program of the College is that of the government program leading to the primary-school certificate, the lower and the intermediate, but with greater emphasis on English, religion and Arabic history. English is started in the fourth grade. Prior to 1951 it was started in the first secondary grade. The idea was a to have a separate English section preparing students for entry into the American University of Beirut. The religious section, covering of five years, has been added to these years to endeavors to prepare students for entry into al-Azhar in Cairo. Egypt. [illegible] University. Arabic [illegible] 1950-51, only 14 students being registered in all three classes.

The College has its own building, owned by a society maintaining it. It has a laboratory and a lecture hall. It makes a number of student activities and has a flag [illegible] and various athletic teams. In addition to the College, the society maintains a primary school for girls, and a girls' school for boys in the old quarter of Tripoli. The College is typical of the attempt of Muslim communities to give a religious education to the younger generations, and also to impress upon the pupils the principles of their nationalism. Most Muslims are accepted, but to maintain their good Christian student schools, an attempt is made to enforce compulsory [illegible] religious instruction upon them.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

6

6. Among the Muslims [illegible] is that between the Sunnis and the rest:

(i) The Sunni Muslims regard themselves as successors of the original and undifferentiated Islamic orthodoxy, as set forth not only in the Holy Book of Islam, but also in the Traditions of the Prophet and the system of theology and jurisprudence built up by the great Islamic thinkers. They constitute the vast majority of believers not only in the Levant States but in the Islamic world as a whole.

The others were divorced from the main body of Islam at different times on account of political or theological dissension.

(ii) The Shi'a known in Lebanon as the Metawileh split off in the seventh century A.D., with the struggle for the Caliphate between Muawiya and Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law. Even after the death of Ali they clung to his cause; their breach with the Sunnis was widened and made permanent by the Battle of Karbala (680), in which Ali's son Hussein was killed after the defeat of his army by that of the Umayyads. The Shi'a regard the successors to the Prophet as having passed not to the orthodox line of Caliphs whom the Sunnis recognize, but to a hereditary line of Imams who were both the spiritual and the temporal heads of Islam, and of whom the first was Ali. The majority of Shi'a recognize twelve such Imams, the last of whom disappeared during the ninth century but will, it is believed, some day reappear as Mahdi.

(iii) The Ismailis split from the majority of Shi'a during the eighth century over the question of the succession to the Imamate. They recognize the first six only of the Shi'i Imams, and regard as the seventh and last of the Imams the brother of the seventh Imam of the Shi'i line. They consequently have taken a number of separate teachings, such as the idea of successive emanations or incarnations of God, and of the transmigration of souls. They severely discipline their regard as [illegible] whom human [illegible] and

dispersed by the Imam to a chosen body of initiates. They look upon the Imam as infallible, and his followers as therefore owing absolute obedience to him. For a time during the Middle Ages part of Syria was ruled by the 'orthodox' Isma'ili Caliphs of Egypt, the Fatimids, but on their decline a heterodox branch was formed as a political secret society, which under the name of the 'Assassins' exercised a large part of the Islamic world. To-day they owe religious allegiance to the Aga Khan.

(iv) The Druze are originated in the eleventh century, when some of the followers of the Fatimid Caliph Hakim, ruler of Egypt, put forward the claim that he was the last incarnation of the Deity. Forced to flee to Syria, they made converts among the adherents of Isma'ilism there, and in course of time these converts came to form a community distinct from the Isma'ilis. They preserved and in some ways developed the esoteric doctrines of Isma'ilism and the distinction between the initiates and the 'ignorant'. They are characterized by the cohesion of their social organization, the strength of their communal spirit and the rigour of their moral code.

(v) Finally, the Alawis, who are also known as the Nusairis, took over from Shi'ism and developed the cult of Ali, whom they regarded as an incarnation of God. From Isma'ilism they borrowed the idea of an esoteric teaching hidden from the masses, and their liturgy, the possession of which distinguishes them from other Islamic communities, seems to be largely Christian in origin. They both also contain elements derived from the pre-Christian worship of nature.

6

There are five important groups of Christian sects in the country:

(i) The so-called Greek Orthodox are members of the Eastern Orthodox Church which broke finally with the Western Church in the eleventh century. The two Churches differ on a number of doctrinal points,

5 the most important of them that concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost. There are also divergences in ceremonial and discipline; and the Eastern Church rejects the papal claim to universal supremacy. The Greek Orthodox in Syria and Lebanon are subject to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch, who normally lives in Damascus. In the past the Patriarch and the upper hierarchy were Greek, while the lower clergy and the bulk of the laity were Arabs. In the course of the nineteenth century, however, the whole hierarchy became Arab, and Arabic is to-day the main liturgical language.

(b) The Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites) and the Armenian Orthodox (Gregorians) both adhere to the Monophysite doctrine that Christ has only a Divine and not also a human nature: a doctrine which was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon (451). The Syrian Orthodox Church has a Syriac liturgy; the head of the hierarchy is also entitled Patriarch of Antioch and resides at Homs. The Gregorian Church has an Armenian liturgy, and stands at the very centre of the Armenian national tradition. Of its two Patriarchs, the Catholicos of Echmiadzin in Armenia is the more exalted.

(c) The Assyrians are the successors of the Nestorian Church which originated with the Christological controversies of the fifth century. The Nestorians so overemphasized the distinction between the Logos and the man Jesus that there was a tendency to postulate the conception of a real union between them. Their doctrine was condemned by the Council of Ephesus (431); subsequently, those who adhered to it formed themselves into an independent Church, which spread eastwards and won converts as far as China. It was almost entirely destroyed by the Mongols in the fourteenth century. It has a distinctive Syriac liturgy; and its spiritual head is the title Shimun, formerly resident in Iraq but now in exile.

(d) The Syrian Catholics are mostly members of the

Uniate Churches: that is, those Churches whose members formerly belonged to one or other of the non-Catholic Churches, and at some time in the past acknowledged the papal supremacy and gave up doctrines which the Roman Catholic Church regards as heretical, but retained their own liturgies and certain distinctive features of discipline and organization. There are five Uniate Churches with important bodies of adherents in Syria and Lebanon: the Greek Catholic, Syrian Catholic, Armenian Catholic and Chaldaean Catholic Churches, which split off from the Greek Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox and Nestorian Churches respectively; and the Maronite Church, which originally held the Monothelite doctrine that Christ has two Natures but one Will, and which returned to Rome finally and as a whole in the twelfth century. The Maronites, like the Syrian Orthodox and Assyrians, have a Syriac liturgy, and a Patriarch of Antioch, resident in Lebanon, as their spiritual head. There are comparatively few Roman Catholics of the Latin or Western rite.

(c) The Protestants are the fruits of the labours of American and other missionaries during the nineteenth and present centuries.

The Jews are mainly Arabic-speaking and long-settled in the country.

6

Of these religious communities, the Armenians (Orthodox and Catholic), the Assyrians and some of the Syrian Orthodox and Catholics are not Arabic-speaking and have, for the most part, come recently into the Levant States. The Armenians came originally from the Caucasus and have their own language and national traditions. Most of them now resident in Syria and Lebanon have entered the country during the last half-century, in consequence of the great massacres in Asia Minor (1895–1915), and more recently of the persecutions of Armenians by Turkey.*

Most of the Assyrians have been settled in Iraq since the

* See Chapter VII

last war, when they were dislodged from their original homes in the Kurdish mountains; the Chaldeans have lived in the Mosul area of Iraq for many centuries. In 1933 a period of tension between a section of the Assyrians and the Iraqi Government ended with the killing of some hundreds of them by Iraqi troops. Several thousands in consequence crossed the frontier into Syria, and although some of them have returned to Iraq, others were settled in the Jezireh with assistance from the League of Nations. Their settlement became an integral part of the Syrian State in 1936.

A large part of the Syrian Orthodox and Catholics still speak Syriac. They have been settled since before the coming of Islam in north Syria and south Turkey, in and around the Taurus hills, against which the wave of Arab influence subsequently dashed. Thus they have been able to preserve their Syriac dialect which further south has been replaced almost everywhere by Arabic. Many are, however, bilingual in Arabic and Syriac, and others have abandoned Syriac and are now Arabic-speaking.

There are certain other groups which resemble the Armenians and Assyrians in not being Arabic-speaking, but unlike them are orthodox Moslems. The most important of these are:

(i) The Kurds, of whom there are perhaps [illegible]* They are mountaineers from the high country which links the Armenian and Persian plateaux, and speak a dialect akin to Persian. Some of them have long been residents in the country, but others have emigrated in the last twenty years from their homes in the mountains of eastern Turkey, in order to escape the oppressive measures of the Turkish Government. There are small numbers of Kurdish-speaking Turkish, Alawis and Christians, but most of those who speak Kurdish as their native language are Sunnis.

(ii) The Turcomans, who number perhaps [illegible]. They came originally from Central Asia, and their language is a dialect of Turkish. Originally nomads, they have now become semi-sedentary or wholly sedentary cultivators of the soil.

*These figures are only rough estimates, there are no official statistics for [illegible]

among the Druzes of Jebel Druze are different from those among the Lebanese Christians. The growth of the Arab nationalist movement has also affected the problem of minorities. It is true that in principle Arab nationalism need not and indeed should not involve a problem of religious minorities. But there are several reasons why at the present day it does involve such a problem. The first reason is to be found in the immaturity of political thinking among the Arabs. Arabism, as the previous chapter made clear, has not yet determined its relationship with Islam; more generally, neither majority nor minorities have yet found the problem of the connexion between religion and the State. Thus there is a tendency for many of the nationalists, although not their most thoughtful leaders, to regard members of the minorities as imperfect Arabs because they are heterodox Moslems or not Moslems at all; equally there is a tendency among the minorities to be suspicious of nationalism as a movement for unrestrained Sunni ascendancy. Among some of the Christian minorities there is a further tendency to regard the West as their spiritual home, to which they can belong in a way in which they could never belong to the Arabo-Islamic world to whose fringes they have so long clung.

The mutual suspicion has been increased in the last twenty-five years by the bad relations which have existed between the nationalists and the French authorities. In these years Arab nationalism has been largely a movement of opposition to France. Those whose nationalism is still coloured by religion drew from that an additional reason for supporting the Christians as being of the same religion as the French. But quite apart from religious prejudice, suspicion has inevitably been aroused by the long-standing attachment of certain of the Christian communities to France. Many of the nationalists believe that this attachment has been used by her as an instrument in a policy of dividing, weakening and in other ways opposing the nationalist movement. Those of the minorities who have been used unwittingly in this way they regard as obstacles to the achievement of their aspirations; those who have lent themselves willingly to it they regard as traitors to the national cause.

Even when members of minorities become Arab nationalists, as many of them do, they often voice their nationalism with a difference. It is not only that they tend to emphasize

points in the nationalist programme other than those which are emphasized by the Moslems; they also sometimes conceive of themselves as having a special duty to perform in the movement. For example, some of the Christian nationalists regard it as their task to mediate Western civilization to the Arabs. This sense of a special duty makes for difference, if not for opposition.

6

This much can be said of the whole of Syria and Lebanon. But if a more detailed analysis is to be attempted, Lebanon must be separated from Syria. While in Syria, and in the Levant States taken as a whole, the Sunni Moslems have an overwhelming preponderance, in Lebanon neither they nor any other community forms an absolute majority of the population, and the number of Christians of different sects is slightly greater than that of Moslems, orthodox and heterodox.

Inside Lebanon also a distinction must be made. As will be described later,[1] the Lebanese Republic of to-day was formed after the First World War, by the addition to the pre-war autonomous Sanjaq of Lebanon, which consisted mainly of Mount Lebanon itself, of certain towns and outlying districts. In the former, the population is almost entirely Christian (mainly Maronite) and Druze. The additions included the coastal towns of Tripoli, Beirut, Saida (Sidon) and Sur (Tyre), and the districts of the Biqa' in the east and Jabal Amil in the south. In the towns the population is largely Sunni Moslem, although there are also numerous Shi'a, Greek Catholics and Orthodox and Armenians (mainly in Beirut). In the Biqa' and Jabal Amil the Shi'i Moslems are predominant, but here again there are large Greek Orthodox and Catholic and other communities.

In Mount Lebanon the majority is Christian, but the Druze community is large and strong enough to have played at least an equal and sometimes a greater part in the history of the Mountain. Thus the sectarian composition of Mount Lebanon is very different from that of the rest of the Mandated Territories. To a great extent also its history has diverged from that of other parts of geographical Syria. This has given rise to a specific Lebanese tradition. It is a tradition of asylum: communities of sects and ethnic divisions for one reason or another

[1] See Chapter IX, p. 324.

fellows the plains of the interior, have found refuge in the precipitously almost impenetrable valleys of Lebanon, where they could worship and live unmolested from outside. The various communities which have established themselves there have usually respected one another's beliefs and ways. There have been tension and suspicion between them, but in normal times they have lived peacefully together. It is true that for generations Lebanon was torn by internal strife, but it was the strife of factions and families. It was only for a short time during the nineteenth century that it took the form of a religious war, and even then the fundamental causes were social and political rather than religious.

The Lebanese tradition was also one of autonomy. Caliphs, Crusading rulers and Ottoman Sultans alike refrained from demanding more from Lebanon than tribute and the formal recognition of their suzerainty. They left the internal affairs of the Mountain to the care of local dynasts, more often than not members of local landowning families. Often Lebanon was partitioned between more than one of these dynasts; but on occasion a ruler succeeded in uniting the whole Mountain and even in extending his sway beyond it. His rule over the Lebanese, however, was never absolute. The social organization was feudal. In principle and sometimes in fact the ruler of the Mountain was elected by the feudal lords; and although this principle was not always observed, and the principate tended to become hereditary in a great family such as the Shamis or Shihabis, even the strongest member of such a dynasty would hesitate before interfering with the powers of the great landowners. As in medieval Europe, when the political power was in weak hands the pretensions and rivalries of feudal lords led to civil war and chaos. It was not until the nineteenth century that the feudal organization began to break up.

This much is true of the whole Mountain. Among the Maronites however the tradition was enriched by several other strands. It was a tradition of *Christendom*. More even than other Syrians were they conscious of their clergy. The priests were national leaders, the centre around which turned the struggle of the community to survive and remain to identify; and the Maronite Patriarch, the only Patriarch residing in Lebanon itself, was a temporal as well as a spiritual power in the northern portion of the Mountain.

held only by Christians; the fourth by many of the Moroniten, the fifth by those who have been moved by the nationalist sentiment without trying to make it a substitute for religious belief.

Probably the majority of French missionaries and officials in the last generation have professed the third or fourth views: that is to say, they have regarded Arabism as primarily an Islamic movement in which the Christians can have no place, and thus they have tried to make Lebanon into a place where the Christians can at least be safe and can perhaps even build up a national life of their own. Their attitude is determined partly by religious belief, partly by a sense of France's historic obligations and partly by a certain conception of French interests. As for the third party to the question, the Arab nationalists in Syria and the other Arab countries, they believe that Lebanon is a part of the Arab world and are afraid of its being used as a centre for foreign intrigues against them; but the more responsible and responsible of them recognise the peculiar traditions and needs of Lebanon and are prepared to make special provisions for them.

6

The problem of the Shi'a is in some ways similar to that of the Christians and Druses of the Mountain, since it arises from distinct religious loyalties complicated by a separate tradition and memories of persecution. But there is also another complicating factor: the backwardness of the Shi'a in social organisation and their low standard of living. Their first need is for a reformed social organisation and improved economic conditions. Once this need has been satisfied, it is possible that their outlook and feeling will be near enough to that of the Sunnis to make special treatment unnecessary.

There is one community which possesses a special relation to all the rest. The Armenians, whether Gregorians, Catholics or Protestants, have two characteristics which distinguish them from the remainder of the population of Lebanon. First, they are not Arabic-speaking, but have their own language, culture and national consciousness. Secondly, they are mainly of recent settlement there. The majority established themselves in and around Beirut in consequence of the massacres taken against them by the Turkish authorities

X. POLITICAL HISTORY, 1920-1938

THE political organization described in the last chapter remained fundamentally unchanged until 1938. In two out of the four units the years 1920-1938 were on the whole marked by political tranquillity and administrative progress. In Lebanon, constitutional development was more rapid than in the other States. In 1925 the High Commissioner entrusted the Representative Council with the task of drafting a constitution for the State. The constitution was promulgated in May, 1926. It provided for the establishment of normal republican institutions: an elected President, who by convention was always a Christian; a responsible Ministry; an elected Chamber and a nominated Senate, which after a time were combined into a single Chamber, two-thirds elected and one-third nominated. Article 91 reserved the rights and duties of the Mandatory Power, as derived from Article 22 of the Covenant and from the Mandate; while Article 92 stated that where circumstances permitted Lebanon would apply for admission to the League of Nations, and in doing so would have recourse to the good offices of the Mandatory Power.[1] Modified in 1927 and 1929, the Constitution was suspended in 1932 because it had proved too cumbersome and expensive; the administration was carried on directly by the President of the Republic, until in 1934 the High Commissioner issued a decree provisionally re-establishing a small Chamber.

Some of the Moslem and other elements in Lebanon were immediately responsive to movements of opinion in the State of Syria and the rest of the Arab world, of which they considered Lebanon to form a part. But to a great extent Lebanese political life developed in its own way; it was dominated by the problems arising from the extension of the frontiers in 1920. Lebanon as it existed before 1914 had contained a large Christian majority; but in the Lebanese Republic established in 1920 Christians formed scarcely more than 50 per cent of the population.[2] Moreover, both Christians and Moslems were subdivided into a number of sects, the largest of which, the Maronite sect, included only 30 per cent

[1] For the text of the Constitution, see P. K. Hitti and P. Thomas, *Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq*, 1920. Volume V, pp. 1187-93.

[2] See Chapter XII.

of the population. Several of these were possessed of local predominance in some part of the Republic: the Maronites in the north, the Druzes in the south, the Sunnis in the coastal towns of Beirut, Tripoli and Saida, and the Shi'is in the Biqa' and the extreme south. The consequences which are likely to flow from such a situation are clear. The political life of the Republic was deeply affected by the struggle for equality or superiority between a number of communities, none of them so strong as to be able to dominate all the rest. Sectarian loyalties and sectarian jealousies thus continued and perhaps strengthened themselves. In addition, the dominance of the spiritual leaders over the members of their communities was perpetuated; the Maronite Patriarch in particular wielded an inestimable influence over the political life of the country.

The importance of communal differences in Lebanon was recognized by the Mandate. Article 2 stated the necessity of guaranteeing the most complete liberty of conscience and worship; the equal treatment of all inhabitants irrespective of differences of race, religion and language; and the right of communities to maintain their own schools. Article 6 required the Mandatory Power to respect the personal status and religious interests of the different sections of the population. These guarantees were reaffirmed in the Lebanese Constitution, promulgated in 1926, Article 9 of which declared: "Liberty of conscience is absolute. In rendering homage to the Most High, the State respects all traditions and guarantees and protects the free exercise of them, on condition that no harm is done to public order. It guarantees equality to populations belonging to every rite respect for their personal status and their religious interests."

These guarantees were respected by the Mandatory Power to a considerable extent. For example, the traditional jurisdictions of the communal courts were maintained in some matters of personal status, although a large proportion of such matters were transferred to the civil courts. An attempt was made in 1936 to define the whole position of the communal jurisdictions. The High Commissioner issued a decree in which the various communities were given explicit legal recognition. Their canons were given the force of law, and

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